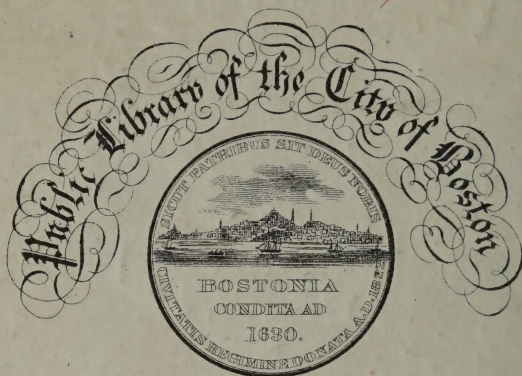




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THE RELATION

BETWEEN THE

RACES AT THE SOUTH.

By

Prof Jas W Miles
Charleston College

CHARLESTON:

STEAM-POWER PRESSES OF EVANS & COGSWELL,
3 Broad and 103 East Bay Streets.

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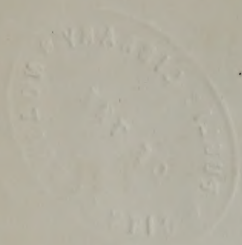


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The Southern States are about inaugurating a Confederacy among themselves, as Independent Sovereignities, in order to preserve the great principles of constitutional free government, in contradistinction to the despotism of the sectional rule of a majority, and to protect the equitable relation between capital and labor which at present exists in the Southern States, to the manifest benefit of both the white and black races.

It has ignorantly been affirmed that the dissolution of the Confederacy of the (late) United States of America would be little less than a death blow to the hopes of humanity with regard to the possibility of free self-government. The very contrary is the fact. The Northern States of the (late) Union have no essential, internal basis for constitutional freedom. They do not comprehend the idea. With them the rule of the majority constitutes free, popular government. With the Southern States, the protection of the rights of the minority against the despotism of a mere majority, and the security of the rights and political privileges of all citizens, by and under constitutional guarantees, is the basis of the conception of free self-government. Hence, had not the (late) Union been disrupted, the Northern States, in establishing the despotism of a majority, and thus reducing the Southern States to the condition of subject provinces, would

effectually have paralyzed the hopes of humanity as to the possibility of free government, by showing that the most sacred constitutional guarantees could have no stability, but might be trampled down by the unscrupulous selfishness of sectional parties. But, on the other hand, the high-spirited resolve of the Southern States (who have never asked for more than a faithful observation of the Constitution) to organize a really constitutional Confederacy, gives to humanity the most sanguine hope that the ideas of constitutional liberty and free self-government will be perpetuated, and will ever survive, so long as there are men capable of conceiving those ideas, and courageous enough to realize and maintain them. *Why* the Northern States have lost the idea of freedom, have degenerated into a mob-despotism of a majority, the tools of demagogues, and have endeavored to involve the South in the same calamity, need not be discussed. It is a question which concerns only themselves. But, that the South is determined to vindicate and perpetuate the great ideas of constitutional government and freedom secured by law, is a cheering example and beacon to all nationalities sighing for deliverance from despotism.

The above points have been elucidated by Southern statesmen so frequently, that it is needless to dwell upon them further. But there is another question vitally connected with Southern development, which, although it has been copiously discussed, yet admits of being placed in a somewhat more positive position. This question is slavery, so called.* So much has been written upon this question, that nothing more is now proposed than to suggest to Southern men a line of argument which has not, in all the discussions, been sufficiently, if at all, insisted upon. It is an argument which, when fully comprehended, supercedes

* When the relation of the African to the white race is designated as "so called slavery," it is because, from the hitherto prevailing confusion of slavery (that is, the forcible subjection of a race equally endowed with the subjecting race,) with the proper and natural relation of the negro and the white, we have as yet no adequate term for this relation. The negro in the South is not properly a slave. He is really in his highest and most favorable position as a human creature.

all others in relation to the relative position of the white and black races. It is applicable, with as equal force, whenever those races come in contact, as it is in the Southern States.

It is universally felt through the Southern States, that (so called) African slavery, as an institution now existing, is essential to the well-being of those States.

It is universally felt that the abolition of that institution, would not only entail ruin upon the Southern States, but would calamitously affect foreign nations.

The institution has, consequently, been defended upon politico-economical grounds; and the arguments urged in this respect are most powerful, and, indeed, unanswerable.

It has again been felt that, upon grounds of both humanity and interest, the existing relations of the two races in the Southern States is most advantageous for both master and the (so called) slave, and hence the latter has been mercifully treated, and care has been taken to teach him Christianity, and to elevate his moral nature. For this position, also, most forcible arguments have been offered.

There is, however, another point of view from which the relations of these races may be regarded, and to which it is now proposed briefly to direct the thoughts of Southern men.

When advocates of emancipation—as it is called—and opponents of all kinds of (so called) African slavery in the Southern States, are unable to refute the arguments upon the subject, as above suggested, they throw themselves back upon the general grounds, that it is unjust to hold fellow men in bondage; that slavery is inhuman and unchristian, and that the inferiority of the negro slave to the white man is owing to his long generations of bondage, during which he has been kept down, degraded, and permitted no opportunity for development.

To this the general reply has been, that slavery existed not only in the Grecian and Roman worlds, but even in the time of the Hebrew patriarchs, and was sanctioned by Apostles, and Moses, and Prophets. In short, that it is

sanctioned—no where condemned—actually recognized by the Bible. Further, it has been replied, that, however the difference between the two races may have arisen, yet, as they now exist, the inferiority of the black to the white race is an actual fact, and that the former race is benefitted by its subjection to the latter.

The arguments in support of these positions have never been refuted.

But, if in addition to the well-known able arguments in behalf of (so called) Southern African slavery, (arguments which have been so widely disseminated that it is here only necessary to allude to them,) a still more important consideration can be presented, the Southern men may well feel the cause of their peculiar Southern institution to be invincible.

Full value is yielded to all the arguments hitherto advanced in defence, and justification, of (so called) slavery at the South. Those arguments have never been fairly met, much less refuted. The reason is, that the defenders of the South have been upon the same argumentative level with the opponents of the South, and the latter have been logically defeated. But the South can assume more commanding ground.

It has generally been conceded by the South—as must appear from the course of argument to which allusion has been made—that the South was on the defensive, and that the main drift of argument has been to *justify* (so called) African slavery. The argument on the part of the South has been to show that it was not unconstitutional, not unscriptural, that it was politico-economically necessary, &c. All this is true. But it is much more forcible, and to the purpose, to affirm that the relations of the white and black races result from a Natural Law, just as much as do the effects of the Law of gravitation. If viewed in this light, it is as little necessary to *justify* the Southern institution, as it would be to enter into an argument to excuse or justify the earth for having the moon circling around her.

It is not pretended that this ethnological Law can be

mathematically demonstrated as the Law of gravitation can be; but if one will fairly seize the general facts of the case, he must perceive that there is a profounder ground in the Laws of the relations of the races under consideration than can be accounted for by any such apparently accidental relation, as might admit of the mere plea of justification.

The only possible point upon which the South might be expected to offer a plea of justification, could be that she had not seized the Africans, now within her borders, upon the coast of the African continent, but that she had received them as an inheritance from her British forefathers. If any justification here is needed, it devolves upon those forefathers, who entailed the institution upon the South. This, however, is a subordinate question. However the South may have become a (so called) slaveholding region, she is so in the providence of God, and the question reverts to the fact, that the African having, by the providence of God, been placed in his present relation to the Southerner, is really fulfilling a Law.

It might be asked, in reply to this, whether the Hungarians, and other oppressed peoples, would not come under the same category, as placed in their present relations to their oppressors by the providence of God, and, therefore, ought they not also to submit to their enslavement? The answer is obvious. Every one must recognize the operation of general Laws; every one knows that apparent violations of those Laws frequently occur. But, at the same time, we can trace, even through those seeming violations, a fixed principle. Apply this to ethnology, and we find that certain races, although for a time enslaved, will emancipate themselves ultimately; other races only flourish in subjection to superior races. *Why* this is so belongs to the secret councils of the Supreme Being. We have only to observe and deal with facts. One striking fact is, that the negroes in Hayti did not *emancipate* themselves, but, under the influence of ignorant, foreign fanatics, they murdered their protectors, and relapsed into barbarism. The fanatical French demagogues of that day incited the St. Domingo

negroes to their unnatural and brutal outbreak, which has issued only in the degradation and barbarism of the St. Domingo negro.

This brings us to the question, What is the relation of the black to the white race? Is it the same as the relation of the white Hungarians, &c., to the white despotism of their oppressors? And in order to solve this question, we must consider the vital question—*What is slavery?*

If we put aside all metaphysical subtleties, and etymological refinements, and consult common sense in view of the records of history, we will find that slavery is the compulsory subjection, through conquest or superior force, of a race equally endowed with the subjecting people. That is, the enslaved people are capable of equal development with their more powerful enslavers. The necessary consequence is, that it is the interest of the enslavers to depress, to demoralize and to keep down as much as possible the whole nature of the enslaved. Where the latter have, under such circumstances and relations, risen to any development, it has been exceptional, and only in a literary career; unless the enslaved race has thrown off its shackles and taken its place among nations. There were slaves made freedmen in Rome, who became distinguished literary men. The modern Greeks threw off their slavery, and assumed a recognized position among civilized nations. But the Roman freedmen and the modern Greek were white men. The St. Domingo negro has never taken a place among civilized nations; he has only relapsed into barbarism, by withdrawing himself from the humanizing protection of the white, who is the natural elevator of the negro race. What has, in fact, been the case with regard to the negro? In Asia and in Europe, tribes originally barbarous, have developed high types of civilization, showing that they possessed the germs of that civilization in their original nature. But in Africa—with a vast continent, enriched with every various bounty of nature, with the attrition of diverse and even more highly developed tribes, with no interference to repress—yet the negro has devel-

oped no civilization ; has never risen above the gross savagism which he seems to have exhibited centuries ago. But the moment he has come under the influence of the white race, in regions where negro labor, under direction and care of the white, has been applicable in subservience to the wants of humanity, has he been a slave ? So far from it, he has been rescued from savagism. So far from its being the interest of his master to depress, demoralize and keep him down, the more he can be elevated, the more valuable he becomes ; and the higher his moral and social elevation, the stronger is developed his instinct to cleave to, and depend upon, and be proud in the service of, his white master, protector and friend. But, remarkably enough, he exhibits none of these traits towards an African master ; it is the white race which he instinctively recognizes as his protector and benefactor.

Other races, inferior to the white race, such as the North American Indian, the inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean Isles, &c., gradually perish away before the white race ; no salutary connection or relation between them can be formed.

Why, is a mystery. We can only say that such appears to be a Law of nature. But when we find, with regard to the relation of the black race, as dependent upon, and subordinate to the white race, that the relation is, under certain circumstances, invariably salutary, we must equally pronounce this to be a Law. Other races fading away before the white race, but the black race alone, thriving, becoming elevated, from the degrading slavery of savage heathenism, to the participation in civilization and Christianity ; raised from the cruelty of native black savage tyranny to grateful obedience to white protection and care ; are facts which most forcibly imply that the relation between the two races needs no more be justified than any other Law of nature, but that the relation between the two races—the white to protect and elevate and direct, the black to attach himself to, to learn, and to obey—is as fixed a Law as any other in nature ; and that to attempt to contravene it, is as futile as to attempt to arrest the Law of gravitation. Such attempts

upon the Law of gravitation have been made, but the unfortunate experimenters have paid the penalty. And so any attempts to disturb the relations between the white and black races in the South, must succumb to the operation of the Law of the relations of those races. If the North could succeed in subjugating the South, and taking possession of her territories, not a negro would be sent to the starving emancipation of Canada, or to the barbarous coast of Liberia, but they would all be reduced from their generous relations to their Southern masters and protectors, to the merciless avarice of their Northern tyrants. And such violation of the Law of nature would bring on the natural penalty—murder, and a struggle of extermination. Could the North subjugate the South, would the North annihilate cotton, rice, sugar—which staples cannot possibly, as we all perfectly know, be cultivated at the South by white labor? The North would find the loss of such staples so disastrous, that it would be necessary to reduce the negro to the wretched condition of a coolie—a degraded brute—who is not elevated and developed to the full capacity of his nature, as is the negro now in the South. But the negro who has known the comforts and blessings of his relation to his Southern protector, would wildly rebel against any coolie system; and the North would have, at a bloody price, to enslave the negro, or leave him to his relapse into barbarism, and the consequent ruin of the rich Southern plains. This, of course, would be an alternative for the North, only in case of its subjugating the South. The South, preserving, as it will do, its independence, will avert such issues, and will continue to protect, under relations of mutual friendship, the negro dependent as a trusty man, and not as a degraded, half-unhumanized coolie.

The North has no conception of the negro, or of his true relation to the white race. To illustrate this point, let the following facts be considered:

In the first place, in all the discussions respecting (so-called) slavery at the South, it has been taken for granted, or tacitly conceded, that *all* slavery has been identically

the same in all ages; and that, therefore, the negro in the South stands upon the same footing with the slaves in Greece and Rome. The difference, however, is immense, and the relations absolutely opposite. This has already been indicated in the historical facts before mentioned, that the ancient slavery was subjection of white race to white race, involving mutual distrust and hatred; while the servitude of the negro to the white race is a relation tending to, and involving the mutual attachment and benefit of both races. The negro is elevated; the white master, as protector, has the most generous and benevolent instincts of his nature called forth. Compare the history of the untrusted Helots with that of the faithful Carolina negroes during the Revolutionary war.

But, why has the blunder of confounding slavery in the ancient world with negro servitude in the South, been so generally made? Many Northern persons would reply that it is no blunder, because the negro is originally of the same stock with the white. Many Southern persons would reply that, as all men are from one origin, the negro is only not entitled to claim the freedom which the enslaved Helot might have claimed, because the negro is, by Divine Providence, placed in his present position. But this difference must be observed, that the Helot was capable of equal development with his conqueror, being of the same white race, and subdued only by superior force. The above replies, then, are only so far valid, as that nothing can occur without Divine Providence. But we cannot make Providence an excuse for our human frailties, blunders or crimes. We may often err, as individuals, entrusted with free agency; but that very trust implies and requires that we should investigate and regulate our actions according to the established Laws of Providence. Hence, instead of confounding, as has so often been done, white ancient slavery with African servitude in the South, it is wiser for us to recognize that, in the evolution of the great drama of humanity, Providence has been developing its divine Laws as to the destinies of nations; and, consequent-

ly, the negro race, in its existing relation to the white race in the Southern States, is as truly fulfilling its divinely appointed mission in the world, as did the Greek and Roman races fulfil the divine intention, or Law, of their respective missions, in the relations which they held towards the development of civilization.

When we find that, in spite of exceptional cases, and of either wilful or ignorant violations of particular relations, a steady tendency to invariable results, nevertheless, occurs under certain relations, the conclusion seems irresistible that those results indicate the existence of, and can only be accounted for by, a Law of nature. This maxim, applicable throughout the whole domain of the positive sciences, must also hold good with regard to ethnology, which is advancing towards the position of a positive science.

Now, there are *two facts* respecting the relations of the white and negro races, which, in illustration of the above maxim, most forcibly lead to the conclusion, that the results of the relations of the negro to the white in the South, are not a mere accident, however those relations may have arisen, but that they are really in accordance with the design or Law of Providence.

An accident may bring certain substances together in a chemical laboratory; but the results will be the consequence of Laws of nature. We may tamper with substances in the laboratory in an unscientific way, and instead of producing the normal effects of the Laws of certain combinations, we may, intentionally or ignorantly violating the Law, produce a disastrous explosion. This very disaster shows that we have acted against a natural law. The Laws of nature, (which are but the expression of the providence of God,) protect themselves; they are sufficiently clear; if warred against and violated, they recoil upon the violator.

Now, this will apply exactly to the relations of the negro and the white at the South. However they may have been originally brought into their present relations, certain results of those relations invariably manifest themselves, and all attempts to violate those relations have issued in

disaster. This will appear evident from a statement of the two facts above alluded to.

The first fact is, that in the Northern States, while the negro has been recognized as, ethnologically, on an equality with the white, and has thus had an opportunity of development from his contact with white civilization, he has yet never risen above a half savage condition. The few connected with the negro race who have risen to any respectability at the North have been those mulattoes who have had an infusion of white blood. It is notorious that the negroes at the North, as a class, are among the most degraded, despised, ill-treated, wretched creatures in the world. If it is a Law of nature that the negro should be capable of equal development with the white man, provided he only has the condition and opportunities of the white man's freedom, why is it that in the Northern States, in Canada, in Jamaica, he becomes a despised creature, a contemned pauper, a barbarous idler?

The Northern States, most inconsistently with their professed ethnological views of the relations and rights of the negro, do not admit him to their Legislatures, to intermarriage with their children, or to general social intercourse. Why? Because under the pretended favorable conditions for the development of the negro in the regions above mentioned, he only develops his barbarism; and the white races there, fanatical as they may be for a selfish idea, which impels them to violate a Law of nature, yet feel an instinct which, in making them shrink from amalgamation with the negro, testifies to the Law of races as a Divine appointment. Upon his own continent, a savage and a slave; transferred to the Northern States, a contemned, down-trodden wretch; what is the position of the negro in the Southern States? This brings us to the second fact above alluded to.

The South long recognized the same ethnological equality of the black and white races which is recognized at the North; and, nevertheless, with analogous inconsistency, has treated the black race as only fitted for servitude.

Nevertheless, at the South the negro has flourished, been morally elevated, and is by no means in a degraded and despised condition. At the North, under the theory that he is capable of the same development and civil rights with the white, the negro is, nevertheless, degraded, despised and oppressed. At the South, even when inconsistently with the admission of the ethnological equality of the white and black races, the latter has, notwithstanding, been treated as being only fitted for servitude, the result has been that we find at the South the highest development of the negro which has ever appeared in all the centuries of history. Left to himself, he is a savage. Introduced into Northern States, as theoretically on an equality with the white race, he is practically and actually an idle, despised, semi-barbarous creature. Placed as a permanent peasant in the Southern States, he reaches his highest development, and he fulfils an important mission in the world.

Add to this the significant and most remarkable fact, that, at this very moment, when the mass of Southern negro servants know that Northern abolitionists are professedly aiming at the emancipation of the negro, yet these same negroes feel such attachment to their masters, are so unwilling to exchange, for the doubtful tyranny of Northern fanatics, the indulgent and friendly rule and care of their Southern white protectors, that citizen volunteers crowd to Charleston from every rural district, leaving women and children, without a fear or doubt, to the protection of the faithful African. No attempt at insurrection in the South has ever originated from the domestic negro; but such nefarious designs have always been fomented from other sources,—such as Vesey, of St. Domingo, and Northern incendiaries.

But all this still points back to the fact, that the relation of the white and black races in the Southern States is no merely accidental one, but one which, however brought about, is a fulfillment of a law of nature, whereby the negro shall accomplish an important destiny in the development

of the resources of the civilized world, and shall also be himself elevated in the scale of humanity.

All the arguments of abolitionists, based upon appeals to the assertion that the negro is "a man and a brother," are gross self-delusions. They assume that the negro is equally endowed with the white, and is capable of an equal degree of development and civilization. Now, however differences of race may have originated, they have existed from the beginning of history. The Indians, the Kaffirs, the Esquimaux, never have exhibited, and never could develop, a civilization such as the Anglo Saxon has unfolded. No one denies that the negro is a man; but the abolitionists never consider what *kind* of a man he is, what are his capabilities, and what is his truest and best position in relation to the development and destinies of humanity. The abolitionist has never known or investigated the preliminary, essential question, "What is a negro?" Hence all of his arguments have been such as an ignorant alchemist might urge, who, totally unacquainted with the nature and properties of lead, but only knowing that it was a metal, should proceed to argue with respect to it as if it was identical with gold. Could the Northern alchemists succeed in abolishing negro service and its relative protection, as existing at the South, the consequence would be ruin of cotton, rice, and sugar cultivation, and the further consequence of the starvation and desperation of the countless masses at the North and in Europe, who depend upon those staples. Those staples can only be cultivated profitably by the negro in his present relation to the white. Violate or destroy this relation, and the miseries which will ensue need not be here argued or illustrated from Jamaica and St. Domingo; for every person acquainted even slightly with the nature of those staples and their culture at the South, must know that the negro is, in his present relation, necessary for their production, while, at the same time, he is in the highest and happiest development and comfort of which he is capable. To confute this fact is impossible; to examine it and test it requires a prolonged

examination among Southern plantations, the result of which would be to convince the sceptic, where he was rational, and not a blind fanatic, that the negro was in his true position, happily and cheerily fulfilling the Law of his nature. Have abolitionists ever made this investigation? They have, on the contrary, denounced (so called) slavery at the South, without having the slightest conception of what is slavery, what is a negro, and what is the relation of the black and white races at the South.

While professing to regard the negro as virtually of the white race, the North treats him with insult, scorn and contumely. The South, fostering the kindest relations towards the negro, understanding his nature and character, and giving him all care and protection, yet condescends to justify its relation to him, instead of taking the ground which all history, ethnology, and physiology indicate, namely: that the negro is by a Law of nature ordained to hold his position towards the white man as he now holds it in the Southern States.

To sum up the suggestions made, it will be sufficient to indicate the following clews of thought.

It is really the South which is aiming to perpetuate the hopes of mankind for free self-government, in breaking away from, and resisting the corrupt tyranny of a mobocratic despotism, and in carrying out the idea of constitutional liberty.

The relations of nations and peoples are as much regulated by divine Laws as are the courses of the planets.

Certain nations and peoples gradually melt away before the white races.

The African negro, so far from perishing before white races, only thrives, is developed, elevated, and rescued from miserable savagism, by being subjected to the kindly servitude of the white race. When withdrawn from this influence, his tendency is to relapse into barbarism.

To the very earliest historical times, he is traced back as being what he now is. He has never, with every advantage, developed a civilization. He would be a worthless

creature, but for his elevation as a laborer under the direction of the white. He is peculiarly adapted for the culture of Southern staples, which he can rear easily. Such, and other remarkable traits which might be mentioned, warrant us in determining that it is as much a Law of nature that the negro should serve and be benefitted in his present relation to the white race, as that it is a Law of nature that certain staples should only be successfully and profitably cultivated in certain regions.

If Southerners would work out these suggestions, observe ethnological facts with regard to the negro, and also, where possible, physiological and anatomical facts, they would be led by rational induction to regard the negro in his best and highest condition and development, under the protection and direction of a Southern master; and, instead of justifying the Southern institution, (so totally different from slavery, as it existed in the ancient world, and which might ask for justification,) they would place it upon the firm basis of a Law of nature, which, as a fact, needs no justification or defence, but is an established Law by the Supreme Being.

Without discussing the origin or causes of the differences between races, (a question not involved in the practical issues before us,) it is absolutely certain that such differences do now exist. It is also a matter of historical record that whenever different races have come into contact with each other, the inferior race perishes away—as with our Indians,—or is held in stern subjection, as the Hindûs and Coolies, or is elevated and developed, as the negro is in his relations to the white race at the South. This surely indicates a Law of nature; or, in other words, that these great historical facts are as much the result of intentional dispositions of Divine Providence, as are the facts that when certain substances are brought chemically in contact, certain results inevitably and necessarily ensue.

It is said by some that the Bible dees not command slavery. It is irrefutably proved by others that the Bible sanctions slavery. But it is overlooked by both parties

that the Bible does not *command* reception of the Law of gravitation. The conclusion is inevitable that the Bible does not dictate with regard to Laws of nature, but either takes them for granted, or leaves them to the discoveries made in the progress of science. The relation, therefore, of the white and black races is a matter of science, of induction, of historical observation; and as the Bible sanctions slavery in its truest and strongest sense, namely: the slavery of whites to whites, and says nothing of the relation of black to white—for the inspired penmen knew nothing of the negro, there is no allusion to him in the Bible*—it seems to be an irresistible conclusion that the Divine Book which sanctions the slavery of a race equal to its enslavers, would more strongly sanction that relation of an inferior race to a superior one, which elevates the inferior race and makes it of importance in the world. That is, makes it important in ministering to most essential wants of the world, by redeeming that inferior race from savagism and the cruel slavery of African despots, and elevating it to the production of important staples, which could not be cultivated without that race, and not by that race, except under the

* As this statement may appear singular to some, and as it involves critical points in ethnology and philology, which cannot be here discussed, it must suffice to affirm that the sacred writers mention only Semitic and Caucasian races, and that while they proclaim salvation to *all* human creatures who repent and believe, they never mention negro or Kaffir. The notion that the negro has been mentioned in the Bible has arisen from theoretical views, and not from scientific examination of the sacred text. Abraham's slaves were white; the slave sent back to his master by St. Paul was white. The relation of the negro to the white Southerner was not then known or contemplated any more than was the voyage of Columbus, or the discoveries of Newton. Hence, while the Holy Bible gives us moral truths and laws for salvation, it leaves all other questions as open as God has spread forth nature to our wonder, contemplation and study. Finding ethnologically and physiologically a certain law of nature, that is a law established by God, with regard to the relations of the white and black races, as existing at the South, the Southerners who recognize the Bible can see no possible inconsistency between God's word and God's works; and hence while recognizing the negro as divinely appointed to his present position in the South by an ethnological law, at the same time the Southerners impart to him the doctrines of salvation adapted to and designed for all human beings in any and every condition and relation, whether as nations or people they be or be not mentioned specifically in the Bible.

Where the sacred writers speak of Cush and the Ethiopian, the allusion is to

protection, care and direction of the white race; while at the same time the subordinate race is morally improved and is subjected to the influences of Christianity.

The Southern States, therefore, do not hold the negro in his present relations, because those relations have been inherited, and no solution for them has been found; nor because the sacred Bible sanctions slavery of whites to whites; but an inevitable Law of nature has regulated the relations of the two races. As in the case of all other Laws of nature, where this Law of the relation between the white and black races has been broken, the consequences naturally ensue. Violate the Law of gravitation, and a broken limb or neck ensues. Violate the Law of the true ethnological relations of the negro, and he is scorned and starved at the North. In his true position at the South, he is protected, cared for, morally educated, made an important agent in ministering to the world; and in thus fulfilling his divinely appointed mission under a Law of nature, he needs nothing more than that his divinely appointed, natural, white protectors should be true to themselves, and exhibit to the world the realization of the

the southern parts of Arabia and Abyssinia, and to a race of the Semitic stock, allied to the Hebrew and Arab, and totally different from the *negro* races. Had the Prophet, instead of saying "can the Ethiopian change his skin," said, "can the American change his skin," it certainly would not imply that the American Indians were black. Neither Caucasian, Chinese, nor Negro can change their skins, any more than can the Leopard his spots. This is no place for the argument upon this question, as we are enforcing only a law of nature with regard to the relations of the white and negro races; but the results of scientific ethnology and philology lead to the fact above stated, that the *negro* is not mentioned or alluded to in the Bible. As endowed with certain moral qualities, he, with *all* men, may experience the influences and benefits of Christianity.

In the Hebrew text of the Bible, the terms Cush and Cushite, are invariably used. The English translators have departed from this uniformity, and have, in several instances, used "Ethiopia," and "Ethiopian," (which they took from the Septuagint,) instead of Cush and Cushite, uniformly used in the Hebrew, and in some cases preserved by the English translators. The Cushites were dark, swarthy people, as they are to this day.

The Noachic curse upon Canaan had no relation to the negro. The Bible certainly does not inform us that it has.

great idea of constitutional, free government, and such a relation between labor and capital, as will, instead of depressing, elevate, and make it the interest of the capitalist to elevate and promote the well-being of the negro race, committed, by a Law of nature, to his care.

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